

Mr. FERRO,

A character of eminence in the political world has said that the best government may be destroyed by reiterated and unrefuted calumny. The constant repetition of attack will finally destroy the strongest work. The appearance of a settled design in a certain party in the United States to overthrow our constitution has suggested these remarks. While these attacks were simply the feeble efforts of scattered individuals, their malevolence was less to be dreaded than depicted; but at this day when their insidious projects have ripened into a regular system, strengthened by numerous combinations and spreading themselves all over the continent, it behoves every good citizen, who values the existence of union among the states and a regular government to oppose the extension of so formidable an enemy to both.

Shortly after the arrival of Genet in this country, a club was instituted at Philadelphia under the title of the Democratic Society; the period of its institution and many well known circumstances attending it, authenticate the report that Genet was its founder, the primary and real object of this society was to propagate French principles among us, and to galvanize the American nation, and to vilify and insult the executive of the United States if he should oppose the will and views of their patron: the ostensible object was to check the unconstitutional encroachment of government, and to keep alive pure democratic principles. How far this virtuous conclave answered the wishes of their founder, their publications have demonstrated; how far their proceedings corresponded with his designs, the precipice to which our public affairs were brought last year, and from which they were rescued by the magnanimous conduct of the President, is a sufficient proof. After the recall and disgrace of their creator, this junto, unwilling to disband themselves, and having acquired some degree of influence by the association of a few sister societies, gave a new direction to their views; that vanity, which had first brought the leaders into view, and had designated them to Genet as fit instruments for his purposes, which had afterwards prompted them to figure as orators on the floor of their club rooms, now opened to their views the seducing prospect of a more dignified and enlarged theatre. Ambition soon united with vanity to urge these leaders to every measure which could accomplish the desired object. A seat in Congress, or in a state assembly, or a lucrative office under the federal or state governments, one or other was the goal proposed, according to the degree of ambition, vanity, cupidity, or influence of the respective leaders.

To succeed in their views it was necessary to remove out of their way all those public characters who enjoyed the public confidence, for they had sense enough to see that they could not get in, until the others were put out.

To succeed in turning out those whose stations they coveted, it was necessary to prejudice the public mind against them. This was to be done by a regular, systematical, and unabating abuse of all the proceedings of government, but particularly those measures which were owing to the exertions of their rivals. By associating a number of clubs, all stimulated by one common motive, all uniting their joint efforts, all disseminating the inflammatory publications of each other, such a fund of materials was established, and such a momentum of force provided, as must in a short period effectually crush their adversaries.

The above short history of the institution and views of these clubs is a clue to their conduct. If any should entertain a doubt, a review of their resolutions and a little insight into their private transactions must completely remove it.

ANTI-CLUB.

* In proof of this assertion, the reader is referred to several recent instances of leaders in the Democratic Societies being candidates for Congress, &c.

Mr. FERRO,

EVERY peruser of your Gazette must be struck with surprise, nay, astonishment, when he beholds with what depth of penetration "A Citizen of Philadelphia" comments, or, to use a more apt expression, satirically criticises on a speech which was read, at a late commencement, by Mr. Swanwick. The speech, whether written by Mr. S. or not, is certainly most floridly ridiculous. The first sentence from the

introduction is almost incomprehensible, and from that to the last sentence there is little perspicuity or elegance; but who cannot discover wit, genius, and every attendant requisite in his inimitable commentator! No envy, no jealousy discernible, nor biased by no party prejudice, he has given his ideas purely for the emolument and recreation of the public. Tho' some few partriazos of a late contested election were somewhat subject to *sis*, yet this gentleman does not appear to have the least symptom of that *direful* malady. So impartial, so just, so intelligent a critic will not fail to gain the most general approbation; and, as I have lately been informed, there is to be established (as soon as time and circumstances will permit) in this city, a *Critical Review*, to be similar I imagine to that which is at present carried on in London, I am very solicitous to learn the real name of this admirable character. It must not be supposed, however, that I mean to depreciate this sublime Quintillian, Aristotle, Longinus, or—I know indeed of no critic sufficiently expressive—I only wish to intimate that with the judgment, candor, & erudition he possesses, he might, could he so far condescend, prove of the most infinite utility as a *director* of so arduous but *desirable* an undertaking.

F. I. N. I. S.

Phila. Dec. 23, 1794.

PROM FRANCE.

Translated for the Minerva.

The "Dying pangs of the Jacobins;" a supplement to the "Jacobins unmasked." "Se taire est un crime, quand parler est utile."

For many days past I have been punctual, in attending on the terrace of the national garden, that I might find there the man who promised to prove to me that the Jacobins are the High Chamber of France, and that the National Convention was not opposed to them, but formed only a *Houle* of Commons. It was not till *Primida*, [the first day of the new French week] that I found him. Well said I, as we met, have you yet seen our conversation printed? Yes, answered he and I am delighted with the effect it has produced on the public, that is among honest people, those who are sincerely attached to the Republic, and who are heartily and warmly the friends of the National Convention, as being the central point of union for all good citizens. There is not a brave Sans Culotte, not one honest man who does not abhor that sacrilegious society; and you need have no doubt that the few honest men who have joined their meetings, will speedily retire from the club. There will then remain in the society none but the managers, the factious, the intriguing demagogues, and such as are paid for applauding them. But these will not remain a long time; for the society has no money; Robespierre is no more, and those who have taken his place have not the same knack of plundering and pillaging one man to enrich another, & you may rely on it, that lately they have been obliged to incur heavy expences to pay their retainers for their acclamations, to send abroad advocates in groups, in short, for the multitude of means those brave people employ to mould the public opinion, to gain the favor of so many good citizens, who never had a wish for the good of their country, but for their own personal benefit.

You are wrong said I, in supposing them short of money; do you believe that those of them who have had the management of the monies of the Republic, will not sacrifice one part of their dilapidations and exactions to save the other? Be assured they will neither spare money nor intrigue to corrupt the public opinion, and shelter themselves from the vengeance of the laws.

I could wish, continued he, you had been at their fittings on the 29th ult; you would have rejoiced in their confusion.—The *Jacobins unmasked*; but this did not produce all the effect they expected; altho' they had advanced the most impudent falsehood, in declaring that pamphlet was distributed gratis among the people who refused it. There are a thousand hawkers who can attest the contrary.

What surprises me, said I to my companion, is, that there is not one of them who will undertake the defence of the society, when so many publications appear against them.

How! replied he, you believe they dare enter into a controversial discussion? No; no; they know too well the weakness of their cause—they know the patriots, the members of the Convention, will always have the advantage over them.—They act with the utmost precaution.—"They take important steps in silence." They prepared their measures on the 27th July.

At present they perceive the public opinion to be against the society; that is with great displeasure we see in the number of its members, certain deputies who have not the most unfulfilled reputation; they are reduced to the necessity of causing addresses to be written by the affiliated societies, which all complain that the patriots are oppressed. The addresses from Grenoble and Salons, afford them some consolation; but that which raises their hopes, is from the society from Marcellis, which

says, that the signal given by the Jacobins; the battalion of the Marcellis is come to overthrow the throne, and the tyranny, and which ends by demanding if the society have need of further succors, speak, speak, say the Jacobins of Marcellis.

[The Readers notice is called in particular to the following.]

You see, said my comrade, that the society has constituted itself the chief of a formidable power, which has an army at its command; since it has only to speak, and battalions march against those whom they consider as their enemies; this society which had Robespierre for its chief, Henriot for General, and a commune [of Paris] with a treasury at its disposal, which could arm the people of Paris against the National representation. Alas! this society may yet command the forces of the affiliated societies. You see how pressing the necessity of annihilating it.—Already the society lends its assassins in Groups, for the purpose of intimidating the citizens by their menaces. On the evening of the Decadi, [the tenth and last day of the French week] there were brigands and abandoned women on the terrace of the national garden, they came in troops armed with clubs, to fall on those who dared to speak against the society, and upon the hawkers who dared to sell pamphlets written against them. The Jacobins not having a syllable to answer against these crimes with which they are charged they seek terror to be the order of the day; but it is the terror of nocturnal assassinations. During this day, they are content to cause a few hawkers to be arrested, whom they wish to deprive of the means of subsistence; for this class can subsist only by the liberty of the press; if this liberty were to be limited at the pleasure of that society, the enemy of all liberty and which wishes nothing but for itself and friends, those good citizens would be reduced to certain misery.

It is then important that all good citizens should know all the falsehood of the allegations of this society, which would rival the National Convention, and which would usurp the sovereignty of the people.

I must tell them, "when citizens have named their representatives, these are invested with full powers to make good laws and a constitution, to produce their happiness, and secure the property of the republic. But since they have been stripped of these powers, they have seen a corporation of men whom they have not deputed, to whom they have entrusted no power, no commission, raising itself between the people and the National representation; this corporation influencing their deliberations, examining the laws, discussing them before hand, opposing them, or demanding the report when they opposed a political body, which the nation cannot recognize. No, there is no citizen who did not understand, when he delegated his authority, his portion of national sovereignty, that his representatives are free, that they depend on no man, on no body of men.

The 39th article of the Constitution, declares the legislative body to be one, indivisible. Why do we find a society which wishes to identify itself with the legislative body, so as to make it believed, that the destruction of the society would dissolve the National representation. It is because the society wishes to revive the system of two houses, which has been proscribed by the general wish, and the Jacobin society would make one of those houses; it wishes to be the most powerful and it is become so; it is so at this moment; it has, in the view of the people, overturned the constitution; and such is its art of fascination that we hardly perceive the two Chambers which the people abhor; and that it partakes, as in England, of the legislative power, but in a way less reasonable and more dangerous.

In England, it is the house of Commons where the people are represented, which proposes and digests the laws. The house of Peers, whose members vote for themselves, without any delegation of authority from the people, adopts or rejects the bills proposed by the house of Commons.

In France, on the contrary, the society of the Jacobins has constituted itself a house of peers. There the members keep their seats, as formerly in the Parliament, without commission from the people, upon the consent of the other peers and by purchase. There the members vote for themselves or for the society, upon their own authority; and this house of peers, self-created, not elected, and where the nation is not represented, has arrogated to itself, and they are suffered to arrogate to themselves the functions of a house of Commons. This society proposes the decrees, digests them, discusses them and causes them to be presented to the National Convention, by those of its members who will yield to the trouble of sitting in both houses, and who have

* In Paris and in London Newspapers and pamphlets are sold mostly by hawkers.

† In France there is a strong prejudice against two houses in the Legislature. It revives the idea of a house of peers. Time will be required to correct these prejudices.

the weakness to fill in the legislative body, the station only of ministerial organs of the society which supports them by the warlike force of the tribunes and the mob.

There remains then the second house, called the National Convention; the only one established by the constitution; the only one where the people can be represented by the men of their own choice; that which we have all promised to live and to die in defence of the legitimate rights which we have confided to them;—there remains nothing for this Convention but the liberty of discussing the laws in the form and adopting them as the society has proposed them, with the applauses of the tribunes filled by their direction, or to reject them, at the risk of their reputation, perhaps at the hazard of their lives.

By what abuse of principles, has it happened that our National Convention, that great sovereign legislative body, invested with the whole national power, and whose unity we would guarantee with our oaths and our constant determination, should be so degraded, and rendered so subordinate, that in fact its authority should bend under that of a society, which would form a corporation in the republic—a society in the bosom of which have been generated all the traitors, all the conspirators, all the faithless agents, all the prevaricating magistrates; for these were Jacobins, the Dantons, the Chabots, the Chaumettes, the Heberts, the Vincents, the Momoro's, the Ronfins; these were Jacobins, the Robespierres, the St. Justs, the Couthons; that Dumourier was a Jacobin, who alone, as the Society said, was worth an army; they were Jacobins who conspired against the National Representation on the 27th July; who united with the Commune composed of Jacobins; and at the time when this society announced that it had taken important measures, prepared in silence; when it pursued the principles it professes, and when it perceives that patriotic writers strive to enlighten the people, to invite them in the name of their country to crowd round the convention, and make for them a rampart of their bodies against the attempts of the society meditated in silence; they dare to calumniate the purest intentions; they dare avow their wishes to dissolve the Convention and the Republic; as if all the French were not persuaded that the Convention is the only power that can save the Republic from the horrors of anarchy which the society contrives in silence; as if all the citizens were not ready to shed their blood in support of liberty.

Let us then warn the people to distrust a society, which they have not founded, which takes measures in silence; which maintains a correspondence in the departments, which has only to Speak and an army marches at its orders; a society in fine which seeks to impress terror on the public by the most detestable means.

Let us warn the people to rally round the National Representatives; to offer their persons as a rampart, as they did on the 27th July; while the Jacobins joined Robespierre and his accomplices, and the traitorous commune of Paris. Let us urge them to keep an eye on the tawny and strange figures, (alluding to the battalion from Marcellis) which swarm in Paris; all the people with Mustachios and clubs who spread themselves among the crowds; and that they arrest and carry before the committee of General Surety, those men who vilify the upright majority of the National Convention.

I left my companion, with an eager desire to deliver this advice to the press, but we promised each other to meet again speedily.

BARALY.

Note. At the moment this paper was going to press, we learnt that the Jacobins and their hirelings had collected on the terrace near the National palace, were endeavouring by their provocations to excite a tumult among the people. We hope the Convention will yield to the wishes fully expressed by the citizens, who supported them on the night of the 27th July and not trust at all to the purification of the society.

[Had the foregoing paper been written in America, it could not have been more conformable to the opinions of intelligent Americans. The whole foregoing description of the Jacobin Clubs answers precisely to the ideas and expectations of Americans, respecting their progress and pernicious influence. The whole description is supported by indubitable facts, and is one continued comment on the reasoning of Federal Americans, against the establishment of such societies in this country.]

Audouin, read a long discourse, directed against the new faction, which he said was an emanation from that of Orleans, Danton, and Fabre D'Eglantine; he predicted of it the same fate which had befallen those which had preceded it. He justified the Jacobins from their calumnies. "It is publicly, it is openly," said Audouin, "that we attack the enemies of the people, we drive them from among us, but we do not direct pistols and daggers against them in the dark." He assured the society, "that the people were for them." "Yes" cried the Orator "let Cataline with his troop, let Pissistratus * with his wounds given by himself (loud applause) "come forward, they shall meet the reward of all tyrants."—Where is the vessel which after a long voyage has not been exposed to the storms and tempests? Where are the sailors who have not been roughly handled by the winds and waves? The vessel is the Republic; the sailors are the faithful defenders of the popular cause; and the sharks which follow the vessel in the hope of some prey to devour, are the Scoundrels and Aristocrats.— [Applauded.]

It is to royalty, continued the Orator, that they wish insensibly to conduct us, not openly, but by an Aristocratic institution similar to that of the two houses of Parliament in England; and by the privileges, and power which they wish to give to that million of step fathers of the people, whose subsistence they would devour. The faction, says he, demands the reign of honest men, but we are not agreed as to the acceptance of this word; according to us, honest men are patriots, rich in virtues, who devote their faculties, their persons, and their lives to the defence of the Republic; according to them, honest men, are those who have good wine, keep a good table, and have a great deal of money, that million of rich egotists, who seated by their fire side, with their toes well warmed all winter, have not gone a step to forward the Revolution.

The Orator, after having invited the society to answer all calumnies, by rendering the people happy, and destroying great fortunes and misery, which always go together, thus terminated his discourse:—"And thee, oh Paris! City celebrated in the annals of the Revolution, know that thou art like a colony in a desert Island, which have burnt the vessels they came in, and with whom their remains no hopes of return.—Remember the horrible imprecation of Hannard; know that it yet exists in the hearts of thy numerous enemies, that it would take effect, that thou wouldst be undone, wait thou to consent to the re-establishment of Royalty, or even of an Aristocratic Republic, and that thou canst exist only under the government of a Republic, one, indivisible and democratic."

* We suppose the Orator here meant to doubt the account of the attempts made to assassinate Tallien.

COMMUNE AFFRANCHE, (Ci-devant Lyons.)

The Representatives of the People now in this city, have denounced, in a proclamation, the following maxims, which were lately declared to be incontestable principles by the popular society of this place.

"The sovereignty resides immediately in the Popular Societies. The public opinion is drawn from the will of each Popular Society."

We did not expect their pretensions would go quite so high as this. Do these things proceed from the whim, and folly of the societies? It is better to think so, than to imagine that they aim at a domination, a hundred times more abominable and absurd, than was ever meditated by the ambitious disciples of Loyala, (the Jesuits.)

Notwithstanding the representations of every rational being in the society, the printing and posting up the shocking dogma, was ordered and executed.—But the Representatives Charlier, and Pocholle, have entirely tranquillized our minds. They have in their excellent proclamation, declared the principles of the popular Societies to be destructive of all social order, and have uncovered the snare, laid by anarchy and villainy.

They have also adjourned the sittings of the society, for the present, and sent the orator, who first branched the horrid doctrine in question, under good and sure guard, to the Committee of General Welfare.